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SUBJECT: [] - Guide for Preparation of Material for

[] has made certain suggestions concerning the preparation of policy papers and dispatches for []. These suggestions are passed to the various area desks for information and for ready reference:

a. Policy papers, guidances and dispatches to be passed to [] should be prepared as compactly as possible. The following suggestions are offered:

1. Single space all typing
2. Leave narrow margins
3. Use onionskin paper

b. Analysis of broadcasts should not summarize broadcasts but should treat primarily with the effectiveness and suitability of the program themes and recommendations for improving the broadcasts; such comments should be based on possible target audience reaction and on U.S. interests. Program summaries are not necessary since [] has access to all scripts which provide him with details of broadcast content. The attached paper on Russian broadcasts may be used generally as a model in preparing future analysis reports.

c. [] states that, for [] purposes, the daily analysis of broadcasts is not necessary and suggests that broadcasts be monitored for a period of two weeks to a month every quarter.

NOTE: WH/S is presently awaiting results of broadcast reception tests being run by FRIS in various monitoring points in Europe and HPI in Lisbon. We are making every effort to produce intelligible tapes all year round to be used in preparing analyses of broadcasts. The interested area desks will be notified when the results of these tests have been received.

Enclosure:

Report on Russian Broadcasts

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE/METHOD/EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

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SUBJECT: Suggested Policy Considerations Regarding Russian Program of Radio Nacional

1. Choice of Frequencies

The department of the Agency concerned with the receiving capacities of Soviet sets has advised that their studies indicate that the majority of Soviet shortwave sets are equipped to receive broadcasts on frequencies between 6 and 9 megacycles. Wherever possible, Radio Nacional should broadcast on these frequencies. The transmitters, however, should not remain idle, if it is not possible to broadcast on a frequency between 6 and 9 megacycles. Many thousands of sets in the USSR are equipped to receive broadcasts on the standard bands above 6 megacycles; some Soviet transmitters broadcasting to the areas use the higher shortwave bands, and it is known that receivers in planes, tanks, communications centers, police stations, etc. are equipped to receive broadcasts over the whole shortwave spectrum.

2. Delivery

It is suggested that the delivery should be slow and distinct. Every effort should be made to use voices capable of expressing the degree of passion appropriate to the voice of an anti-communist. The speakers should not avoid devices like rhetorical questions and should make every effort to vary the mood, style and tone of their voices in accordance with the content of the script.

3. Length of Individual Items

We must think in terms of a brief program containing many self-sufficient items and try to avoid long dissertations, the point of which it will be difficult to develop and put across over the jamming. For the purposes of this discussion, we define a long dissertation as one which is more than one typewritten page double-spaced. It is believed that the ideal length of a "feature" is one page double-spaced. The individual news items should be no longer than two sentences. Because of the jamming, there should be as many repetitions as possible. This cannot be overemphasized.

4. Use of Music

It would be desirable to include a musical identification signal -- a few bars from a piece with revolutionary political connotations. It is, of course, necessary to avoid broadcasting a musical signal in a high-pitched key because of the possibility that it might betray the listener. Commo advises, however, that it may be possible to include a signal which is low-pitched around 500 cycles. Such a signal may not be more obtrusive than the body of the program. Experimenting with the carrying power of a musical signal as against the carrying power of the male voice -- by running off a tape containing a signal and listening in the next room behind closed doors, for example -- will indicate whether the inclusion of a musical signal is desirable.

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Brief musical motifs can always, of course, be used on an irregular basis. In this way we could capitalize on their power to evoke sentiments and symbols without their necessarily being identified with the program. An example of a musical passage with a desirable connotation would be the first few bars of the "Marseillaise," which has universal revolutionary democratic connotations. There is a whole musical store of revolutionary democratic hymns upon which to draw and which could be used irregularly, none of which would necessarily betray the listener if they were overheard, because none would be necessarily identified with the station.

5. The Length and Timing of the Broadcasts

Because of the fact that most members of the potential audience cannot listen to foreign broadcasts frequently and openly, because of the fact that it will probably not be possible to avoid having substantial portions of the program completely jammed, and because of the propaganda value which lies in the repetition of profitable and well-developed themes, it is suggested that the program be no more than 15 minutes in length each day, and that it be repeated immediately after the first broadcast and as frequently as possible thereafter. It may be desirable to repeat the same program for two days instead of writing a new program every day, or perhaps even for three days. It is submitted that emphasis be placed upon the presentation and repetition of profitable and well-developed programs, and not on presenting new material every day.

6. The Composition of the Audience

The considered estimates of the department of the Agency which is concerned with the subject placed the number of Soviet sets capable of receiving foreign broadcasts at around 3,000,000 (entire USSR). Because radio receivers are expensive in the USSR, and because their number is few, it is believed that they are, for the most part, in the hands of individuals of privileged status in the hierarchy of the Soviet police, army and navy, party, and government. It is believed that some kolkhozy and MTS's may have powerful sets, and it is known that occasionally the rank and file, Soviet citizen or soldier, does have access to sets. The fact remains, however, that it will be necessary to orient our broadcasts to the privileged strata of Soviet society and government. There would be no point in orienting the program toward the rank and file of Soviet citizens, toward those who are most disaffected and most discontented. The program must be designed for its impact upon those who have gained the most from the Soviet system, who have a stake in its preservation. This is an opportunity as well as a liability, because it is upon the efforts of these groups that the maintenance of the system depends.

7. Sub-audience

A substantial portion of the scripts should be addressed to and consonant with the interests of sub-groups within the general audience. It is possible to do this without producing scripts which are not universal in interest. We may, for example, address a brief talk or bit of information of interest to a Soviet biologist which at the same time would have an impact upon other components of the Soviet elite groups. A talk, for example, on the difficulties under which Soviet

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biologists labored in endeavoring to do constructive research, within the framework of the Lysenko theory of heredity, would be of interest to both the subgroup and the general audience. As another example, we may exploit the dissatisfaction of Soviet physicists who must conduct their research work outside the framework of "Marxist physics," while giving it lip service. Scripts dealing with the restrictions upon the freedom of movement permitted officers of the Red Army and Red Fleet, will highlight the difficulties of Soviet life to the officers and will at the same time be of interest to the civilian audience which suffers comparable restrictions.

8. Identity of Interests with the Audience

Since Radio Nacional will speak as a free voice of the Russian people and attempt to build itself up as a moral and political authority, speaking in the name and real interests of the Russian people, it must in every phrase assume an identity of interest with the target group.

It must never talk down to the audience; it must never use epithets and threats; it must never address the audience as "you"; Radio Nacional must speak of "our interest," "our country," "our sufferings," etc. The tone of the program must from the beginning be Russian in character; it must be replete with Russian symbols, with allusions to Russian literature -- e.g., use of the symbol of *NARODNAYA VOLYA*. It should be no tubercular version of VOA.

The station must at the same time reinforce the concept that pre-Communist Russia was a member of the Western community of nations sharing the individualist values and the religious, legal, and constitutional concepts of the Western world, that these are the true Russian traditions, that the Communist regime constitutes an alien and non-Russian interregnum, and that the future of Russia lies in the re-establishment of the community of interest and ideals between Russia and the West.

9. Allusions to Russian Literature

It is believed that there has been some censorship of the works of the 19th century masters, but that most of the deletions have been made within the past ten years. It is known, however, that the vast bulk of the works of writers like Dostoevski and Belinsky and Tolstoy have been allowed to circulate, and that the Soviets actively encourage their study in order to promote Russian patriotism and the appreciation of Russian culture. The works of the masters are replete with many statements which could be exploited against the Bolshevik regime. Let us take, for example, the early works of Belinsky, whom the Soviets hold up as a Russian precursor of Marx. Belinsky, in his early works, states in pungent and moving language that no policy which utilizes force upon the people, even though it is presumably directed toward a socially desirable end, is justified. Belinsky, in his early works, also affirmed that the means which the unjust state used in order to attempt to reach a socially desirable end corrupted both the state and the people.

Similar ideas were also expressed in Dostoevski's "Brothers Karamazov", in the famous soliloquy of Ivan Karamazov, and his works are replete with statements affirming that the just state is the servant

of the people and that only the just state has the right to the loyalty of its people. Dostoevski's "Possessed" there are long passages attacking the mentality of the 19th century revolutionists who espoused totalitarian ideology. Passages could be taken from these works in toto. By doing so we would be speaking in terms with which many members of the audience would be familiar while at the same time demonstrating that the station is a voice of Russian character.

Another writer whose works could be used would be Tolstoy, who attacked the military spirit as unjust and un-Russian, and who stressed brotherly interest among peoples. We may also mention Slavophiles, like the Aksakov Brothers and the theologian Khomyakov, who affirmed that Russia was a unique state, the arm of a unique people with a mission to bring peace and progress throughout the world, by example, and by surrendering militarism. By using their works, the station would emasculate the Soviet propaganda regarding the mission of the Russian people, and would reinforce its Russian character.

10. Major Theme -- Marxism

Ideological discussion is desirable. Russians take a delight in its disputation. Soviet Marxism, moreover, embraces every aspect of Soviet institutional life and endeavor and is more than an idea -- it is an official state religion. Soviet Marxism offers a fixed and determinate answer for every question and problem ranging from atomic theory to aesthetics. It is necessary to recognize that because it offers fixed and determinate answers to any and all problems and because it utilizes and channels corrupted democratic concepts and sentiments within its own framework, it has been successful in capturing the loyalty and imagination of substantial numbers of individuals. The monopoly over the media of communications enjoyed by the Soviet state and its ruthless use to induce conformity and loyalty have had their effect. This is not denying, however, that Soviet Marxism has been widely recognized by thinking individuals in the USSR as a means of mobilizing public opinion on behalf of the policies of the Soviet state and as a means of justifying the exercise and extension of power by the Soviet bureaucracy. It is, however, necessary to attack its concepts because they underlie the entire fabric of Soviet activity and propaganda, and there is no lack of fruitful themes along these lines which can be accommodated to brief periods of delivery. The items can be brief, because it is safe to assume detailed knowledge of Marxist dogma by most members of the audience.

The staff may, for example, take the Marxist dogma that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat and point out how the workers and peasants in Russia are underprivileged culturally, politically, and economically. On the level of logical disputation, brief scripts can ask how the works of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin logically explain the facts that most members of the Communist Party are not recruited from the workers and peasants, and that the Party is a self-perpetuating mechanism.

The Staff can take the concept of the withering away of the state and show how it has been pushed into the background because of the needs of the Communist Party and bureaucracy to maintain and expand their power and the capacity for aggression of the Soviet state, and point out how in Lenin's State and Revolution, it is written that

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history has developed to the stage at which it is possible for the state to wither away immediately after the seizure of power by the workers. Lenin also stated in the same work that the salaries paid to the few governmental people which would be necessary after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat would be comparable to those paid workers. Developments instead have been exactly the opposite, for the gap between the salaries of workers and those of governmental administrators is many times greater than in the West.

Another Marxist dogma which can be attacked is the "theory of increasing misery," which stated that according to inexorable laws of historical development the "proletariat" in the Western countries would become greater and greater in numbers, while the property-owning classes would become increasingly smaller, and that property would gravitate in the hands of the few. In the 100 years since Marx wrote his major works, events have taken an opposite course. The development of the corporation has brought about the dispersion and extension of ownership. The standard of living of Western industrial workers and farmers has been rising, and the progressive income tax, which does not exist in the USSR where a flat percentage rate is assessed on income, has militated against the growth of great fortunes. The workers constitute a middle class and the heavy inheritance taxes in the West, notably in the United States and Great Britain, have been resulting in the gradual breaking up of great fortunes. There should be frequent mention of Western social and economic legislation.

11. Democratic Values and Institutions.

If the station attacks Marxism, it must offer a concrete alternative. It is not enough to attempt to destroy the philosophy and to leave a vacuum in its place. Radio Nacional must emphasize the way of life and the political, social, and legal institutions of the West. Comparison between Western and Soviet institutions should be specific. Contrast, for example, the role of political parties, parliamentary government, and civil rights in the two systems and state that it is along the lines of western constitutionalism and legalism that the new Russia will take form.

It is submitted that great emphasis must be placed upon progress made along these lines by Imperial Russia from 1862-1917. It may be objected that by doing this we lay the station open to the charge of being the voice of tzarists and old emigres. If, however, the station is to stress that Soviet values and institutions are alien to those of Russia, it is necessary to refer to the accomplishments of pre-Soviet Russia in detail, and with some faith. We must appropriate the Soviet claims to progress. The Soviet period should be termed reactionary, as a throw-back to abolitionist institutions, as a break in the progress Russia was making toward the full development of free democratic and parliamentary institutions.

12. Religion

It will not be enough to offer a political alternative to Communism (Western legalism and constitutionalism) -- it is necessary to recognize that among many members of the Soviet ruling group, Marxism evokes sentiments and blind belief which can only be termed

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quasi-religious. Again it is necessary to provide an alternative to fill the spiritual vacuum which would be created by successful attacks on Soviet Marxism.

Every Sunday there should be straight religious broadcasts, and during the week it would be profitable to include material dealing with religious bases of democracy and the ethical bases of the State. There are many works of Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox publicists which were written during the medieval period in Russia and during the religious wars of the 16th and 17th centuries in Western Europe which affirm that only the just State is worthy of obedience, that the just State rests upon an ethical foundation, and that resistance to an unjust State is a religious and patriotic duty. Most were written in pungent and stirring prose and can be utilized in their present form for effective scripts. We can take, for example, the famous speech of Metropolitan Phillip to Ivan Grozny, which affirms in stirring Russian that there is a higher power above the State and that it is the duty of every man to resist injustice. The great Spanish jurists, Mariana and Suarez, wrote effective and moving works along these lines, parts of which can be used verbatim.

It may be objected that themes like the above are too complicated and philosophical to be effective as propaganda. It should be remembered on this score that the vast majority of the potential audiences are individuals of relative status and importance in the Soviet hierarchy — individuals whose capacity and education are generally well above the average.

13. The Kremlin as Aggressor

Emphasis should also be placed upon the fear of a new war on the part of the Soviet citizen. At every opportunity the aggressiveness of the Soviet foreign policy should be exposed without, at the same time, giving the impression that the Soviets maintain the initiative in world diplomacy. The Soviet government must be painted as war-mongering, and news items should be selected in order to demonstrate that the free world is united and resolute against the threat of further Soviet expansion. The vast majority of the members of the potential audience are Soviet officials who respect power and resolution.

14. News

It is submitted that not more than 20 per cent of the content of the broadcasts should be news. VOA is enjoying a margin of success in getting through the jamming and much of the content of VOA is news.

15. Subjects to Avoid

A discussion of the U.N. should be avoided. One of the main themes should be the solidarity and resolution of the free world against communism. This will not be served by pointing out the ambivalent position of Franco's Spain. It would also be harmful to discuss in the Russian programs Franco's grievances against Britain over Gibraltar, his embarrassing the French in their conflicts with the Moslems in North Africa, and his occasional attacks on England and France in general.

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In the past the Russian programs have attacked anti-Communist emigre groups with whom the script writers did not agree on basic questions of policy and tactics in the struggle against Communism. The Russian desk should not use a program beamed to the USSR as a means of venting their spleen against emigres that they consider leftists or timid.

The most difficult problem lies in the nationality question. The Ukrainian desk is probably separatist. The existing Russian staff is certainly nationalist. Spanish policy insofar as it can be ascertained is favorable to the separatists. This situation can result in eruptions and conflicts among the staffs. It would be best if the Russian desk did not go into the nationality question at all in its broadcasts.